1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

is bending and stooping, or while his older brother or sister is running or jumping. The ease with which adults sleep is equally remarkable. On buses in Okinawa, I have seen men and women with their heads against window sashes, while the bus bounces over the rough roads. Sharp cracks on the head are unavoidable, and to one unaccustomed to it, would be very painful. But people sleep like this, with their heads knocking against the hard surface of the bus, for miles.

This carrying of the child continues regardless of season. In the winter, coats are put over or around the child's body. One of the obvious and most important facts about Okinawan child rearing is this custom of carrying the child on the back. But it is difficult to say precisely what this importance is. Certainly in this way the child has continuous contact from earliest infancy with the life around him. He is not accustomed to being alone, except for an occasional hour during the day when he may sleep on a blanket. At night he sleeps with his mother. A child does not have to be introduced to the world. He is not shielded in a crib. From early infancy he has seen and been almost every place in the village and learns to know many whom he will know throughout life.

This "public" and community life from earliest infancy is one of the outstanding features of Okinawan culture, a characteristic which it shares with-and which is derived from-Japan. One of the surprises is that despite these contacts with all phases of village experience, the child, as it grows older, becomes quite shy. This is true of boys and girls, and continues in my observation from the age of puberty up to marriage. No person who has had any contact with Okinawans fails to notice this shyness. The Okinawans use the Japanese word hasukashii to describe it, and, in this connection, the meaning is something between a feeling of shyness, self-consciousness, and shame. The shyness often does not disappear until marriage or even until the birth of the first child, when father and mother take their place as mature and responsible adults.

Two recent observers who analyzed the reactions of Okinawans under the stress of war have thought that early and continuous breast feeding is largely responsible for giving the child, from earliest infancy, a sense of security. While this theses was advanced out of intimate experience (mostly in the wartime hospital at Ginoza village), it must, in my opinion, be qualified considerably.[8] The period during which the child is breast fed is but one period in the formative years of childhood. Besides breast feeding is no monopoly of the Okinawans. Neither is carrying on the back confined to them. The period immediately after the child is taken off the back and begins to walk is a difficult one for most children. This

8 See Moloney, James C. Psychiatric observations in Okinawa Shima. The psychology of the Okinawan. Psychiatry 8 (1945), 391-99. Moloney, James C. and Biddle, Charles R. A psychiatric hospital in military government, ibid, 400-01.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

885 well accustomed to the routine of the occupation they will follow.
888 The young fisherman has gone to sea for his beginning lessons. The young farmer knows most of the skills of planting and cultivating. The young stone worker, requiring little training to begin, is already at work.

885 Young men maintain close relationships with their families prior
593 to marriage. In the villages studied, there is little movement to
A64 the larger towns. Since the war young men or women have found employment, at various times, in government and military government offices as account clerks, maids, translators, clerks at post exchanges, officer's clubs, restaurants, bars, and the like. But there were few instances in these villages.

A young man does not leave the village ordinarily, nor does he rent separate living quarters. These continuing family ties up to marriage may account for the boyishness and lack of maturity noticeable in so many young men in the age group from 17 to 25. The young school teacher, the truck driver, fisherman, or farmer may turn over part of his earnings to the parents. In rural Okinawa, residence in the home and attachment to the family last well into the years of younger maturity. This does not mean that there are no personal dissatisfactions with their situation.

834 There are few outward signs of personal attraction among young men and women during the teens and the years before marriage. In public, boys and young men of the same age group usually are seen together. This is true of the girls. Clandestine meetings among young men and young women take place. A mutual attraction is often communicated by a young go-between trusted by both. This secrecy does not come about from a desire to conceal the attraction, but because both parties are shy (hazukashii). This public reticence, so old in [178] Oriental cultures, is gradually breaking down. It is a convention, based on public repression of one's feelings. This does not mean that people dislike personal and physical contact and lack demonstrativeness. [159] Okinawans are emotional and demonstrative, and do not avoid physical contact, as anyone who has seen them at their parties has discovered.[16]

But young men and young women may meet quite openly. A young man in his early twenties may visit a girl's house, stay all day with her and her parents, and part of the time be alone with her. The young,

16 It is too early to tell the effect of ideas of sex equality on rural Okinawan society. That the supposed high position of the American woman has made an impression on many rural Okinawan women there can be no doubt. The influence of young American soldiers and sailors, their catering and thoughtfulness toward Okinawan girls to whom they [179] are deeply attracted has spread beyond the range of those with the immediate experience. The soldiers are responsible for the adoption of the word, "honey." Okinawan boys use it in the same sense as [832] Americans: as any very attractive girl, or as a girl deeply loved personally.

119 304 607 to the family system, the extended family, or to the household order naming system is well worth exploring. No tattooing was observed among the Hinatogawa fishermen, but this may have been an oversight. According to an old woman there, it did exist. One would expect it from the close relationship of Hinatogawa to Itoman. It is quite probable, in my opinion, that tattooing of men and women have different origins.

304 According to the early observers, tattooing of women took place around puberty, although Furness puts the age at 4 or 5 years. Patterns differed distinctly by island.

In Okinawa, everywhere one hears the same explanation for the origin of women's tattooing. Although there are variants, the core of the explanation is that the Ryukyu islanders (presumably after the Satsuma conquest of 1609) tattooed their young girls to prevent [698] their being carried off to brothels in Japan. The tattooing was supposed to have made the girls so unattractive that they were untouched. Other variations are that the tattoo indicated marriage and thus kept the girl from being taken away. An old woman of Hinatogawa told of a legend (not seen or heard from any other source) in which the tattooing of women was an act of thanksgiving for a rescue at sea. A boat was sinking, and the survivors swimming saw [773] two hands in the sky. They stopped the waves and the storm passed, permitting the swimmers to reach shore easily. The families were told, and after that the hands of the women were tattooed.

[119] This subject needs considerable research. It would be of great interest to know the relationship, if any, to the family system, the extended family, and the household order naming system, whether it is comparatively recent in the islands, and whether the tattooing [177] of the fisherman is a result of Chinese or Portugese influences and a consequence of the early Pacific trade described in Chapter II.

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Knuckle Cracking

●157 One of the most puzzling of Okinawan mannerisms is the frequency of knuckle cracking. It may be observed in young children from 5 to 6 to old men and women in their seventies. It is done on so many occasions that cataloging them would be a real chore. The knuckle is cracked crisply and sharply. Young boys and girls may talk a whole evening, cracking their knuckles incessantly. It occurs in ordinary conversation, at lively parties, and during periods when a conversation lags. Children say they learned it from their mothers.

It seems a habit acquired very early. Perhaps it is an indication of tension, but I am inclined to be less specific. One Okinawan explained it as a continuation of childhood habit and ascribed it to the limberness of the fingers coming from early training on the abacus,

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

discounting the idea that it was a sign of nervousness or of being ill at ease. Certainly it occurs equally with strangers, relatives and life-long friends, and it may well be nothing more than an extremely common mannerism. 157

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The Tide

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Scattered throughout the previous discussion there have been references to the importance of reckoning the tide on certain occasions. At these times, it is necessary that it either be high tide or that the tide is coming in. Though doubtless there are many more instances than have been mentioned, the following were found to be the most common occasions in which high tide or the beginning of flood tide was considered: (1) The marriage ceremony of san-san-kudo, (2) giving a child a name on its birth date, (3) when moving from a main house to a branch house, (4) when the child is given symbolic gifts at his first birthday party, (5) when carrying salt, the Buddhist god shelf and other articles into a new house.

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Under these circumstances it is necessary to be able to compute the tide quickly and easily. For this purpose, the lunar month is divided into two periods of 15 days each. From an almanac a figure is obtained which gives the number of hours to be added to 12 o'clock on the first day of the 15 day lunar cycle. This is 0.8 hours or 48 minutes for low tide. (Everyone seems to have this at his finger tips). On the first day of the fifteen day cycle, low tide is 48 minutes after 12 o'clock. High tide is obtained by adding or subtracting 6 hours. The computation is shown in the following table.

Lunar Day at 12 o'clock (15 day cycle)		Multiplied by:	Equals Period of time in Hours to be Added to 12 o'clock.	Or, Low Tide at:
1	x	0.8 hrs	0.8 hrs.	12:48
2	x	0.8	1.6	1:36
3	x	0.8	2.4	2:24
4	x	0.8	3.2	3:12
5	x	0.8	4.0	4:00
6	x	0.8	4.8	4:48
7	x	0.8	5.6	5:36
8	x	0.8	6.4	6:24
9	x	0.8	7.2	7:12
10	x	0.8	8.0	8:00
11	x	0.8	8.8	8:48
12	x	0.8	9.6	9:36
13	x	0.8	10.4	10:24
14	x	0.8	11.2	11:12
15	x	0.8	12.0	12:00
16 (or 1)	x	0.8	12.8	12:48

To obtain high tide add or subtract 6 hours.

311 parts of the island, and the small deltas, the tiny alluvial plains,
181 the short and narrow valleys are left to produce what little rice can be grown.

Okinawa is not Japan and perhaps it is unrewarding to attempt
171 comparisons between the Okinawans and the Japanese. Okinawa is an
369 island whose rural life is but little disturbed by urban development. Only two places, Naha and Shuri, could be classified as small cities. Important places like Nago, Ishikawa, and Yonabaru are only small towns.

Japan is a culture rich in both its rural and its urban life. The investigation of the life of the great metropolitan cities of Japan is more scattered in specialized studies, more casual, perhaps more impressionistic than the study of some of its villages. Japanese and Okinawan rural life have many things in common, though the Japanese experience may now be distinctly different because of the land reform.

But along with the rural village, there are the great cities of Tokyo, Yokohama, Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe, and Nagoya, and these circumstances make an appraisal of Japanese culture even more complex and elusive.

177 Certainly the long cultural ties with Japan have left their impressions on the people of Okinawa. The Japanese language, the Japanese system of education, altered after the war, Japanese tools, and Japanese literature are clear examples of this direct influence. But there are differences too. Adoption is much less common in Okinawa. The Buddhist influence, except for the altars of household Buddhism, is weak. The Okinawans, during the war, seemed less inclined than the Japanese toward fanatical self-sacrifice in behalf of the emperor cult.

● 157 In this work, I have avoided discussing the popular subject of
128 the "psychology" of the people. After a few commonplaces, one embarks on a series of impressions which may or may not have validity and which most certainly would be subject to endless qualification. I have therefore, for the most part, left the characteristics of the people to emerge from the descriptions of their historical experience, their social organization, and their family and community life, trusting that from these details one can form an impression of the way in which a people are living and how they meet the manifold problems which confront them.

156 In my own studies, I have been impressed with the feeling of belonging which seems to be the possession of the individual from infancy until his children lay him to rest in the family tomb. There is also a stability in family life, and this stability does not seem so pivoted, as in our culture, on the continued mutual love and affection of the father and the mother. There also seems to be little stress on personal competition.

The infant as well as the mature adult are conditioned to conformity both by the historical obligations and duties under the family

623 attend." As on all occasions women usually sit together on one side or in the rear. Few of them participate during discussions. The most active spokesmen for the women are the head of the Women's Association and one or two of her close assistants. If a discussion concerns such matters as liquor and food for celebrating certain holidays, a woman may speak [854] up. Mothers bring their infants along and hold them in their arms or nurse them when they get restless. Sometimes a child feels uncomfortable and starts crying, and the mother is forced to leave the room.

554 In general, Taira people do not enjoy being leaders or playing a ●157 dominating role. There are no bosses who attempt to force issues or 621 dictate policies. Even people who have definite ideas on how to effect changes would not attempt to assume full responsibility by disregarding the advice of others. "Power" is not associated with responsible positions and village leadership. The headman and clerk perform a duty, often loathed by them and never too highly rewarded by others. A man commands respect for his education, age, sound advice, and exemplary behavior, not for the office he holds. Moreover, all villagers are friendly neighbors, and the man who is presently headman still [632] remains a relative or neighbor to everybody. There is more prestige associated with township offices. The mayor, who holds the highest position, is a man of age and experience; he commands a great deal of respect and has been elected to that office because of the high esteem in which he is held. Occasionally one hears of power hungry persons who are unscrupulous and authoritarian, but they are rare.

FORMAL CONTROL

625 Formal control of law and order is in the hands of the police. A detachment of the Hentona district police is located in the village, and one policeman is constantly stationed there. He lives with his family in [206] a building which also has a small office. Recently a telephone with direct connections to Hentona was installed. The policeman and his wife are from another township.

[166] The policeman's main duty, according to villagers, is to protect them from the occasional outside burglars or from fugitives from the south who come north to hide in the woods. The announcement that such a person is on the loose creates much excitement and anxiety. A [167] second important duty is the control of the shore line. Smugglers and illegal entrants from the Japanese island of Yoron, just to the north of Okinawa, land along the coast. Although one man with only a bicycle can hardly control effectively several miles of coastline, since the only road to the outer world leads through Taira, the policeman

1 [i.e. - to the household head meeting - ANALYST]

603 601 term. As the child gets older, the familiar suffixless form of address is used less and less frequently, though girls seem to retain it longer than boys.

601 156 576 The strength of one's ties to the community as a whole regardless of actual kinship is seen not only in the use of the term "grandmother" and "grandfather" in addressing all members of this generation but also in the similar use of the terms "uncle" and "aunt" for all members of the parental generation. Those who are not known well or who have high status are addressed by the appropriate kinship term with the suffix -san added.*

554 576 Achieved status is recognized by special terms of address. The teacher, school principal, the doctor, the village headman or mayor are addressed by their titles. Taira people combine familiarity with formality by calling a young teacher from the same or neighboring community by the first name, then adding the title "teacher." †

621 156 571 In summary, although affiliation with a patrilineal descent group and kinship ties with kindred influence certain aspects of life, over and above these ties is the identification with the community, which is drawn together by bonds of economic and social interdependence. Individual leaders serve their term of responsibility and then return to [157] the egalitarian community life, which is comparatively free of competitive strife.

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Chapter 7

Courtship, Marriage, and Sex

582 Most marriages in Taira take place when both men and women are in their early or middle twenties (see Table 2). It is perhaps most note-

* This refers to the use of Japanese kinship terms which are prevalent in Taira—see Chapter 1, p. 370.

† The use of first names may also help to identify individuals since many persons have the same surname—this explanation, however, is not in contradiction with the statement concerning familiarity.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

parent aftereffects of remorse or physical incapacitation, is a characteristic of this village. Excessive or orgiastic feasting which might interfere with work duties of the following day or days is absent. Leisure events spent in groups are joyful and desirable to all, untinged by hidden motives of social compulsion or conformity, which marks so many recreational activities in a culture like ours.

The village calendar does not include a weekly rest day, although government offices are closed on Sunday. Rest and holidays for the majority of villagers are regulated by religious and agricultural events which, in former times, were observed at least once during each lunar month. Although some of these have been simplified or given up in recent times by people whose participation in the old religion has diminished or by those who seek a sounder economy by urging greater production of crops and accumulation of savings, when it comes to observing and enjoying holidays, even the most rational village leader forgets his concern for the time being. The elaborateness of celebrations may be less today, as a result of economic pressure, than in former times—the spirit hardly could be. To know and appreciate the sense of humor and the wit of the people, one has only to attend their parties. During other times these qualities are less expressed—though they are never completely absent. If the naive comment that Okinawans are "childlike"—an observation which Westerners in describing them have permitted themselves—can be taken to have any foundation in fact, it could only be that like many children they are capable of complete absorption and indulgence in fun when the occasion is proper. For the Taira person such indulgence cannot be achieved without food, drink, music, and dance. These are the main components of entertainment which help to elicit gaiety and good humor, whether during holidays observed by families in individual homes, or those of the descent group main houses, or in village-wide celebrations, which are extremely common. These ingredients also appear during more informal hours of relaxation, each day after work, when there are small gatherings here and there, though on a more modest scale.

Since calendrical holidays, whether of a family nature or community-wide, have many aspects in common, we may mention some of these in general. Most gatherings begin in the late afternoon and last until late at night although never until daybreak. These are the rare times when people can dress in their best clothes and by doing so shed, perhaps, symbolically all associations with everyday routine.

The sequence of events at any kind of celebration is somewhat like a veil dance during which one layer of formality after another disappears. A formal period precedes not only all village-wide celebrations

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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gets a turn. Teams of two girls at a time play hopscotch, which they call "parent and child game."

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An old Okinawan game of skill on which early Western visitors have frequently commented is still a favorite of Taira boys, 5 years and older. This is a kind of stick-ball game. A wedge-shaped piece of wood 3 to 4 inches long and pointed at both ends and a striking club are used. Children whittle both with a knife. This game is played by two or more players, and the purpose of the game is to get the wedge into a hole. The game requires a series of skillful manipulations of the wedge with the club. It is an exciting and competitive game. Each player is awarded a number of points for certain accomplished acts. Although boys are quite absorbed in this play, there are rarely any arguments and the winner hardly ever shows any pride. Winners seldom boast after a game, and the observers felt that the satisfaction is really gained from the performance, not from having outdone others. Girls sometimes join the boys in this game.

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Boys and girls, separately or together, play other games of skill, such as marbles. A challenge by another starts a game, sometimes of two, sometimes of four or six players. There is usually a kibitzer around who becomes involved. Two games in the same play area are not uncommon while spectators wait for their turns later.

Equally common, but frowned on by the school because of its gambling character, is a rubber band game. The store uses rubber bands to tie packages. Children carry a number on their arms. Each player chips in a number of bands, two or more, depending on agreement. The person who starts the game is decided on by tossing. The rubber bands are put on a cement or wooden surface, a step or block with a ledge from which the rubber can drop down. They are placed at some distance from the ledge. Then they are moved toward it, either by hitting the ground with the palm of the hand, slightly cupped so that air escapes, or by blowing. The rubber bands drop over the ledge, and the person whose rubber band first overlaps with another wins the stake. This game continues until one player has won all the rubber bands. Parents object to the game only if the children buy rubber bands instead of collecting them.

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Boys like to practice skill in sports. Wrestling, a national sport in Japan and the Ryukyus during spring and early summer, is taken up by boys who copy young men and older students, and for several weeks wrestling matches get spontaneously under way. Prior to the annual island-wide athletic meets in September, boys practice high jump, broad jump, and relay running. There is much practice for the mere

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857 526 [157] fun of it, but few signs of involvement with attaining outstanding performance. Losers are not teased or ridiculed, although a good performer is occasionally given an encouraging remark by others who practice.

Group games are usually played after the schoolchildren have returned to the village. One of the popular games is a version of prisoner's base similar to that played in the United States. This game is played with much yelling, laughing, and noisy challenging. Equally popular is a version of "kick the can." This game is exciting and fast moving. It is a game which can lead to arguments, since one must trust the honesty of the person who is "it" and claims to have seen another player. Brief arguments arise and are quickly settled. Part of the fun seems to be teasing and challenging the tagger.

535 857 [527] [871] These are games that children may play on any day in the year. During holidays they are sometimes asked to entertain adults with dances. Little girls learn the traditional Okinawan dances from kindergarten days on, either by watching or by coaching of an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Neither kindergarten nor school programs include the teaching of such rich Okinawan heritage as classical dances. Boys do not begin to imitate the burlesque dances of their male elders until adolescence. But they are sometimes invited, together with girls, to present group dances or little plays for the adults. Adults seem to enjoy most the performances of Okinawan dances by little girls who may have learned the rhythm and movements but not the restraint of serious adult presentations. They are delighted if a 6-year-old, dressed in bright-colored costume, innocently wiggles her hips in a rather suggestive way.

857 [156] Children who perform for adults show no stage fright. At school, where little sketches are presented on the stage, there is a complete ease in improvising. Nobody is embarrassed if he forgets a line, a song, or a cue, and the recitation contests which we have already mentioned are carried out with much zest.

[512] Schoolchildren are supposed to remain at home after 8 o'clock in the evening to do their studies. This rule is encouraged by the school but rarely enforced by parents. Many children, boys and girls, appear outside after dark, and on moonlight nights they often resume their playing. Off and on, a couple of elementary schoolboys are attracted to the store where the village truck arrives with goods from the city after nightfall. There they stand in the dim yellow light of the kerosene lamp, watching, helping, or just listening to some of the men who come to have their sake bottles filled. If a bath has been prepared for their families, their turn will come sometime after the older males in

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